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The
COMMONWEAL

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THERE ARE certain realities which one's distaste for the President's personal attack on Colonel Lindbergh's character must not obscure. The problem concerned incompatibility of functions: it was handled petulantly on a personal plane. Our country, which demands that the personal details of everyone's life be exposed in the daily press, occasionally, illogically but sincerely is shocked when the President furnishes to the newspapers peculiarly personal appreciations of his opponents. The institution of the White House press conference is responsible for many venomous tidbits of political action. It may be said that at times the President is slightly un-British, but then Churchill speaks to the Commons under the most rigid rules of gentlemanly fair play while the President often speaks—under a strain which is incalculable—to newspaper questioners only too desirous of soliciting impromptu and vivid replies.

But Colonel Lindbergh's resignation has an importance which transcends the manner in which it was obtained. This country is committed to a policy of opposition to the totalitarian powers and of aid to Great Britain. This statement became a political truth shortly after the presidential elections; the Lend-Lease Act made it evident.

We are the first to admit, and some of us to deplore, that this policy places us virtually at war with the Axis powers and that if and when it be seriously implemented it will throw us into actual warfare. We claim, moreover, that no policy which may be formed by a temporary administration can be binding against the will of the majority of citizens. Alone are irrevocable the constitutional foundation, with the Bill of Rights and the fundamental principles of natural law. We claim consequently for any citizen the right to oppose a policy and the right to attempt to bring others to oppose it. But we do not claim that a man publicly and energetically opposing the foreign policy of the government can at the same time continue to be a member of those armed forces of the nation which serve the national policy and do not initiate it. Unless we admit intolerable confusion, the rôle of the army and navy must be a silent one.

Colonel Lindbergh has not been a regular officer and the position of reserve officers is not clearly defined in the public mind, but he is so identified with the air power of this country that public opinion normally would accept as reasonable and opportune his being placed at the head of our air force in case of war. He has not been selected for this service: he has been compelled to resign his commission as reserve officer—we can imagine with what deep and sincere regret.

Why has this happened? It is a phase of the fight on foreign policy, in which Lindbergh leads the opposition. The lines were tightened in this particular way fundamentally because there is a conflict between his campaign against intervention and the fact that the public inevitably associates him with our military strength in the air. That military strength tacitly must be considered at all times capable of carrying out the nation's policies, for it is presumed that those policies will be determined only after measuring it. But Colonel Lindbergh openly considers the task of meeting German strength, *on a foreign terrain,* to be an impossible one. It is his duty, which he has fulfilled, so to inform the Government: as a citizen, but not as America's most prominent air force officer, it is his right and duty to speak to his compatriots.

Negroes and Pullmans

THE SUPREME COURT has made a further clarification of the issue of Negro rights under the Fourteenth Amendment in its unanimous decision favoring Arthur W. Mitchell, colored Congressman from Illinois, against the Interstate Commerce Commission. Mr. Mitchell had laid before the Commission the fact that, traveling on first-class fare from Chicago to Hot Springs, he had been compelled at the borders of Arkansas (which has a segregation law) to leave his Pullman and complete the journey in a second-class coach. The Commission had dismissed his complaint, citing the "comparatively little colored traffic" as excusing the railway from providing equal Pullman accommodations for it. This was

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the point upon which Chief Justice Hughes's explanation properly centered: "It is the individual who is entitled to the equal protection of the laws—not merely a group of individuals or a body of persons according to their numbers." The attorneys general of the ten Southern states which possess segregation statutes took up the case and appealed to the Supreme Court not to take action on the Mitchell complaint, in a common brief ornamented by a citation from Justice Frankfurter and setting forth that these statutes "were enacted for the welfare, comfort, peace and safety of both races." However, the highest judicial tribunal found that the question was not one "of segregation but of equality of treatment. . . . If facilities are provided, substantial equality of treatment to persons traveling under like conditions cannot be refused." The decision represents a substantial advance on the road to equal rights. It is to be bracketed with the much more important Supreme Court ruling that schools for colored children be equal in quality to those for white, and that their teachers receive equal pay. Such decisions have a twofold effect: to produce a specific material result aimed at, and—not less significant—to educate the public mind in justice.

Poets Gather

TEN YEARS of patient, fruitful work have brought their tangible reward; the tenth anniversary celebration of the Catholic Poetry Society of America was not only successful beyond any expectation of its sponsors; it was as successful as any such gathering in American literary history. Poetry *per se* has only a limited appeal in our world. We have little time for bards on a planet too busy about its own daily business. Good poetry requires reflection, leisure, meditation, work, not only in the poet but in his reader. It is all the more a triumph, then, to have gathered half a thousand people from all over the Eastern States to listen to addresses on poetry, and poets, to participate in panel discussions.

All this was preceded by a solemn Mass, with two bishops participating and three priest-poets officiating. The luncheon was brilliantly addressed by the President of Fordham University, where the celebration was held ("Robert Browning is the Theodore Roosevelt of the 'Golden Treasury' "), Katherine Brégy (who saw no good in this or any modern war) and Theodore Maynard (Christianity as the poet's best point of reference from which to approach the tragedy of the world). Discussion Panels were conducted by Sister Mary St. Virginia, A. M. Sullivan, Tom Boggs; the Assembly was addressed by Father Talbot, Daniel Sargent, Amos Wilder, Father Philip Furlong.

To those—and especially to John Brunini—who have labored without stint this decade for the Catholic Poetry Society and for its brilliant review, *Spirit,* here must have been fulfilment indeed.

The Stretched Weekend

SUMMER is the traditional time to take a vacation, while winter, many people say, is the healthiest and most reasonable, but spring must be the pleasantest season to stretch a weekend if you can. Pick some lovely place where spring is high and where the newspapers are fewer and different and where you can accomplish that feeling of how strange is your city life. Virginia, for instance, was found to be a splendid place for finally shaking off the winter and at least temporarily shaking off . . . other things. It is either reassuring or dangerous that we are so seldom conscious of the great diversity of the USA, but it is in fact remarkably foreign for a Yankee in the Old Dominion. There are many mules in the fields and buzzards flying around in the air, which apparently simply will not cross the Potomac. In the North you seldom see Negroes in the countryside, while down there the farm people seems to be Negroes very largely. There is more country and less town and the towns are far less strictly town. Everywhere is the accent, a highly developed system of curb service for motorists and a confusing number of words that are not used in the metropolitan press of the North. The War Between the States is emphasized on signposts numerous enough to fence the Mason & Dixon Line. (How does one feel about Copperheads in the South?)

Virginia is certainly a place for historical renewal, which drifts off at Williamsburg, it may be, but most agreeably, to archeological phantasy. Down from the District of Columbia toward Yorktown it is rather George Washingtonian and highly Revolutionary; across the middle and through Richmond, very Civil War; and around Charlottesville ultra-Jeffersonian. What an unbelievable man was Jefferson, with his college, and his home and its view. Apparently you were nobody in the neighborhood until Jefferson designed and built your house. A student with more than a bit of Joe Cook in his relaxed makeup. A statesman operating from way out in the country on top of a hill which must have been very remote indeed before railroads and cars. The bewildering Thomas Jefferson, one had always supposed was primarily the statesman, however modest his tombstone. After a long weekend, we are less certain. His life simply must have been integrated around Monticello and work he did there: keeping up the place, reading, studying, draughting, building, farming, gardening, writing letters, quarreling and inspiring, fooling around, and making gadgets. Leaving town and going away is no doubt an escape, but returning to a city job at a desk, no less doubt, is too much surrendering to the part of mouse and no man.

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On Modern Intolerance

What is tolerance? What are the virtues, the risks of dissent? What does man seek?

By James N. Vaughan

A GENERATION ago Monsignor Ryan stated his views on religious toleration.[1] Now he has restated them and they prove to be unchanged.[2]

He starts with the idea that it is obligatory upon the state publicly to profess religion in some degree. In its highest development this obligation is fulfilled by profession of the true religion. Since the true religion is the Catholic religion, the conclusion is reached that every state in a soundly organized world ought to profess the Catholic religion. The world, however, is not soundly organized, for it is not formed of Catholic states. In truth there does not exist today any specifically Catholic state. Consequently the obligation to profess the Catholic religion stands in abeyance in respect of all modern states. Specifically in 1941 it is inoperative in respect of the United States of America.

Existing facts are perishing facts. Catholic states have existed in the past. They may exist again. If this should come to pass, the state would be morally bound to profess Catholicism. The outcome of such profession would not be a theocracy. Also ruled out would be the relationship between church and state in which the church would exist as a subordinate agency of the state on the English or pre-revolutionary Russian model. In an ideal union occurring in a Catholic state the Church would stand to the state somewhat as the United States stands with reference to the several states of the Union: each would be autonomous in its own sphere. The jurisdiction of each would be restricted, but within their respective limits each would be sovereign. Delicate problems of adjustment would no doubt arise, but in principle they would furnish no obstacle to a workable union.

Suppose a church-state union of the ideal type consummated in the United States. Of the many questions arising from such a change one stands out as supremely important. If the state recognizes and professes the Catholic religion, can the existence of non-believers be tolerated? Monsignor Ryan says that the unbaptized and those born into a non-Catholic sect can never be coerced into the Catholic Church. Existence in their errors is to be permitted. They are also to be allowed to practice their several forms of worship if they do this "within the family, or in such an inconspicuous manner as to be an occasion neither of scandal nor of perversion to the faithful." And what of propaganda in favor of their several species of untruths? "This," says Monsignor Ryan, "could become a source of injury, a positive menace, to the religious welfare of true believers. Against such an evil they have a right of protection by the Catholic state. On the one hand, this propaganda is harmful to the citizens and contrary to public welfare; on the other hand, it is not among the natural rights of propagandists. Rights are merely means to rational ends. Since no rational end is promoted by the dissemination of false doctrine, there exists no right to indulge in this practice."

It comes to this: Catholics today are a minority in this country; this country also has a Constitution which Catholics as well as non-Catholics are bound in conscience to uphold; this Constitution bars profession of Catholicism as the state religion. While these three conditions obtain Catholics cannot pretend to prohibit free circulation of non-Catholic religious doctrine. But make Catholics into an overwhelming majority, remove the Constitutional barrier and get state recognition of Catholicism, and doctrinal intolerance in the degree indicated above may follow without violence being done to anybody's legitimate rights. The reason why Catholics can promise intolerance when they shall have become a majority while demanding tolerance for themselves so long as they remain a minority is that "error has not the same rights as truth." Whoever defends "the principle of toleration for all varieties of religious opinion [must] assume either that all religions are equally true or that the true cannot be distinguished from the false." In these words Monsignor Ryan answers him who is disposed to murmur against his conclusions as harsh and illiberal.

The object of intolerance, Monsignor Ryan has

[1] The State and the Church. John A. Ryan and Moorehouse I. X. Millar, S.J. Macmillan. Out of print.

[2] Catholic Principles of Politics. John A. Ryan and Francis J. Boland. Macmillan. $3.00. This article deals with one special point covered in Monsignor Ryan's and Father Boland's book. By and large this volume is the best discussion of its subject in English.

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said, is to prevent perversion of the faithful. We may add that the best of men—and the worst—have defended this notion. Intolerance is a kind of policeman for authority. Like blinders on a horse, it acts to keep eyes on the road untroubled by the pleasures or terrors of the wayside. It makes for unity, order and monotony. The principle of intolerance goes far beyond the question of religious orthodoxy. It weeds gardens, tames wild animals, corrects unruly children, rationalizes industries and suppresses crime. It beats down or tears up, it eliminates or sterilizes, it burns or mutilates whatever tends to mar unity, whether it be the unity, for example, of a garden, a family, a business, a nation or a religion. Intolerance considered with reference to human society and belief proceeds on the basis that there exists a definite plan, a definite belief or a definite policy. Its function is to forbid the proposal of any amendment to the plan, any doubt to the belief or any discussion in respect of the policy. Manifestly it is non-creative. In a benign mood it takes doubters, critics, dissenters, debaters and agitators into protective custody. When irritated it is more at home with whip, rack, gallows, guillotine and the stake. Intolerance accompanies success and efficiency in the world of action. It is the producer and conservator of likemindedness, which in turn is the source of all effective social action.

Men and sheep

If man's vocation were to be merely a sheep, the case for intolerance would be perfectly unassailable. If man were designed to sacrifice individual existence in favor of the social whole, again the case for intolerance would be convincing. If ends could justify means, the case for intolerance would look good. If actions prompted by fears of disaster were necessarily holy actions, intolerance would carry the day. If dissent were always immorality, intolerance once more would sweep the board. It is the unhappy and historical fact that of the billions of men who have lived and died on this starved and blood-drenched earth only a trifling minority has constantly known the delights of a rich, secure and free existence. Men have in fact been handled as sheep, sacrificed to the social organism, employed as slaves in the service of the powerful and governed by gnawing anxieties as to the dangers inherent in dissent and social change. Intolerance has accordingly ruled the world, save for rare brief intervals. It is the subjective equivalent of war and it is no less widely distributed in time and space.

He would be a foolish, ridiculous man, wholly lacking in common sense, who would come forward with the idea that everywhere and at all times and in all situations intolerance is bad. No one in authority could long rule unless he could bend the human will to the ends to be served by authority. The problem of tolerance is a study in reconciliation of the permanent opposition between liberty and authority. A late example of how the issue arises in a concrete way is supplied by the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States delivered on June 3, 1940, in the case of Minersville School Dist. v. Gobitis (84 L. Ed. 993). The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania exacts participation of school children in the ceremony of saluting our flag as a condition of attendance at Pennsylvania public schools. Parents are also by law of Pennsylvania required to see to it that their children attend school. For those lacking substantial means, obedience to the latter law involves attendance by their children at public schools. In practice this means the children of the majority are obliged to participate in the flag ceremony. Children reared in the Sect of Jehovah's Witnesses are taught to believe that the flag ceremony is forbidden by scripture. To them to salute is to worship a false God. The question became this: Could Pennsylvania properly force these children to participate in an exercise they regarded as irreligious or could the children, claiming the protection of the constitutional guaranty of freedom of religion, insist on toleration by the school authorities of their non-participation in the flag ceremony? This is plainly a problem in toleration, formed by categories of constitutional law. Deciding against the children the majority of the Supreme Court, speaking by Mr. Justice Frankfurter, said: "The ultimate foundation of a free society is the binding tie of cohesive sentiment." Saluting the flag, he said, is one agency for giving rise to that cohesive sentiment. To the objection that the ceremony should be exacted only of those who are not opposed to it on religious grounds, Justice Frankfurter said, ". . . an exemption might introduce elements of difficulty into the school discipline, *might cast doubts in the minds of the other children* which would themselves weaken the effect of the exercise. . . . A society which is dedicated to the preservation of these ultimate values [i.e., 'enjoyment of all freedom'] *may in self-protection utilize the educational process for inculcating those almost unconscious feelings which bind men together in a comprehending loyalty* . . . [italics supplied]."

With a little transposition these words of Mr. Justice Frankfurter could be easily used by Monsignor Ryan. They are words which remind one of Lunacharsky's program for soviet education. "Instruction is not enough," he said. "Taken by itself it cannot form communists. Many men know Marx perfectly and nevertheless remain our worst enemies. It is necessary to educate *sentiment and will* in the communist direction [italics supplied]." Is the nazi or fascist theory of education any different?

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The case for intolerance

The case for intolerance is implicit in these remarks. We must have a care that nothing shall be done or said which will occasion "perversion to the faithful." The people have a right to compel dissidents to conformity in action so that "doubts in the minds" of others shall not arise. The important thing is to educate "sentiment and will." What is this thing which perverts the faithful, produces doubts and alienates sentiment and will? Isn't man a *rational* animal? Aquinas said so. Is he not exclusively attracted to that which he deems *good?* Such was the opinion of Augustine. Does he not aspire to be *happy?* This, said Aristotle, is indeed his aim. This rational animal aspiring to be happy and drawn on solely by apparent good—can it be that there is also something painfully criminal in his composition? Why is it that all these rational, happiness-seeking animals do not agree on doctrine, on ritual and on valuations, in matters political, economic and, particularly, religious? Why do critics, heretics, dissenters and agitators exist? We all agree in ruling out the Manichean principle of diabolism in the explanation of the facts. (We agree on this, I mean, while discussing the matter in cold blood.) If diabolism is rejected, we must look for some other source not inconsistent with the essential traits of rationality, aspiration toward happiness and the ubiquitous incidence of the good with relation to every human action. I fear we are come to this: in partial explanation of dissent it must be conceded that those who disagree with us have *some* reason, *some* motivation which is not impure, *some* just grievance which leads them to dissent, drives them on to search for converts and supporters, and moves them toward organization of followers and institutionalization of their beliefs.

Dissenters and orthodox, moreover, do not always do their thinking with that pure and dispassionate intelligence which we may suppose is characteristic of the angels. Men have feelings, passions, interests, diseases, traditions and habits which fuse to form prisms by which the objective truth is refracted in ways corresponding to the peculiarities of the prisms. That which is received is received according to the nature of the recipient, as Aquinas said over and over and over again. I add: according, also, to his *second* nature, that is according to his momentary composition as a totality of capacities and experiences. Dissent is a permanent *datum* of human life, because the same thing is not seen by different men in the same way.

Dissent is being produced every minute of the day in some soul which has taken up a new perspective with respect to some body of orthodox doctrine or aspiration. It may also arise if not from a new perspective then from a new configuration of objective truth which has exhibited itself. Often dissent merely restates something asserted by others many times in the past. It may consist of an old error repeatedly refuted. (Nothing new under the sun; Acton said history was the struggle for mastery of about 30 ideas.) However that may be, the definitive suppression of dissent is impossible. It can be choked off for a time, but those charged to suffocate it will in the end relax their vigilance and dissent will be heard.

Monsignor Ryan, himself a brave, free and distinguished man, would be the last who would wish this to be otherwise. But for the indomitable man who can say *no* to prevailing beliefs and practices what ground would there be for optimistic expectations in respect to the numberless people who live today, exemplifying a faith and practice which all civilized men agree are in turn detestable lies or debased activities? The power of dissent is the power to purge corrupt society and to unmask lies; at the same time it is, of course, the power to sap the foundation of a good society and the power to create and propagate lies. But whether it is employed for good or bad objectives it cannot be uprooted from human nature.

Dissent inevitable

Since the power is there to stay, it follows that like every other human power it is certain of exercise. If it is certain of exercise, the real question is, indeed, whether it is to be met, in principle, with force (intolerance) or patience (tolerance). This question, owing to its generality, admits of no complete answer. It is indispensable that the general question should be particularized if it is to be a satisfactory question. In respect of religion, for example, it would be useful to ask a question like this: In a Catholic state should a person having an official position equivalent to that now occupied by Bishop Manning be permitted to have a handsome church from the pulpit of which each Sunday he might deliver a sermon on what he deemed to be the errors in the doctrine of Petrine supremacy? That question makes sense. The answer to it should be *yes, by all means*. Let the Bishop Manning, Bishop Cannon, Dr. Searles or Rabbi de Sola Pool—even the Father Divine and Judge Rutherford—of the future Catholic state, wherever it shall be, preach when and where he can find a group to listen. And let the Catholics of that future day and state study what these preachers have to say. Catholicism will not lose its integrity and truth if it is removed from an *ex parte* basis. Suppose some Catholics are thereby lost? It is man's privilege, a privilege marking him off from all other animals, to be absurd, to be insane and to choose to be damned.

Examine carefully the thesis Monsignor Ryan feels obliged to uphold. The faithful are entitled, when strong enough, to be protected from the

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errors of their weaker contemporaries—the irreducible dissidents. The dissenters are to be driven underground. True, they are not to be coerced to come into the Church. But the authorities are to quarantine them as they do the carriers of a noxious disease. Why? Because those who are weak may be fatally attacked by the disease of untruth. Should life then be had without risk and without courage? Should the spiritual life of man know neither doubts nor temptations? Should man be shamefully born, hurriedly shrived, and brought half blind through this world accompanied by armed guards as if at the slightest jar his spirit, like fragile china, would shiver into worthless fragments? To save so poor a thing it would be impossible to justify the utterance of even a harsh word to the unbeliever.

Intolerance and mutual respect

Intolerance, the scabbard of war, ever demonstrates the bankruptcy of living, vibrant faith. It coincides inevitably with the withdrawal of men from relationships naturally generated by love, understanding and mutual respect. Its presence says that priests as such have ceased to talk and that the time has come to hear the voice of the politicians. Each group must close its frontiers. Inside the group, members whisper, shout or storm, each according to his genius telling himself and all other insiders what fine fellows they are. The outlander is pronounced barbaric, ignorant, vicious. As "everyone" knows he is a mere liar and cheat. When these things happen, where is the principle of divine love and pity? Where is the voice of reason? Where are patience, charity and justice? The principle of intolerance of erroneous religious propaganda in the life of the true religion is, in my judgment, a dangerous, unwarranted usurper of the authentic religious spirit which is tolerant on this subject.

Historical reason should be one of the main sources of any theory of tolerance. Looking to history, we readily see that intolerance has a legitimate function, since by its means effect is given to community law. But intolerance readily expands its claims until it seeks to compel the human mind to conform to one rigid type, or, hypocritically, to profess a conformity it does not in fact experience. Some limits, if only in the interests of common safety, must be imposed on intolerance. History is the source of these limits. It is no longer legitimate to approach the matter of intolerance solely on terms of formal logic. And it is the teaching of historical experience that, however perfect the *logical* case for intolerance, especially intolerance of religious propaganda, intolerance has been a principal author of the most deep seated hatreds which have divided man from man and nation from nation. Only in very late times have forms of intolerance, closely related to politics, arisen capable of matching in fervor the hatred generated in the past by religious intolerance. The guaranty of religious freedom which finally gained place in the Constitution of this country was no child of logic. It was derived from historical understanding. But the gains made by historical understanding should be no less permanent than those achieved in the natural sciences. It is just as important to civilized life that men should believe in the doctrine of religious freedom as it is that they should believe that the earth is round. As the modern geographic idea on the shape of the earth adjusts itself to real fact, so also religious freedom, including the right to worship as one chooses and to propagate what one believes to be religious truth, adjusts itself to the historical facts of human life, thought and experience. History is strewn with the social shipwrecks of societies based on the principle of religious intolerance. Where such societies have not been destroyed they have tended to assume petrified forms and in the end to perish by way of dessication.

God made man to be free; else men are only animals. Freedom is manhood. The area of human freedom should never be so narrowed as to make the fear of man's force and ostracism the substitute for self-responsibility and the fear of God which are alone the beginnings of all wisdom.

Man Shares the Earth

I was the first, I thought, to go
Across the loveliness of snow:
The earth, and all thereon, was mine.
Swinging through a stand of pine,
I chose a woodroad leading back
To town—and there a cloven track
Disputed my preeminence.
Trailing the deer along a fence,
I read the record where he stopped
To sniff the breeze for warnings dropped
By stalkers. Satisfied, he made
A straight line to the sprucy shade
of Beaver Brook and where he drank
The night-dark water the icy bank
Was pricked with hoofmarks large enough
To factualize the nebulous stuff
Of hunter's legends—which grow tall
With telling. Circling to a wall,
Dividing apple trees from oak,
He leaped the barrier and broke
The crust beneath the leafless boughs
In search of tumbled fruit to browse.
Some strangeness must have startled him
For red-brown hair upon a limb
Betrayed how high the flagging buck
Catapulted ere he struck
The earth. I hope he heard me shout,
"Look out—the Men in Red are out!"

HARRY ELMORE HURD.

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Social Progress in Brazil

What a great neighbor to the south has done to solve its social problem.

By **Peter Berger**

THE FIRST SOCIAL QUESTION to arise in the "Terra de Santa Cruz"—as her discoverers named Brazil—inevitably concerned the Indian natives. Wherever white men came to disturb the pattern of a primitive civilization, there were two contradictory phases to their action. There was the brave penetration of the wilderness to bring it within the modern world; there was heroism, and asceticism, in the pioneers; there was martyrdom for those who brought the true faith: but there was greed, too, and betrayal and cruelty. Physical conditions in Brazil exasperated both the good and the evil. The Portuguese colonies had to send their pioneers into deep forest lands doubly defended by deadly fevers and the silent arrows of the natives. The "Bandeirantes" who made their way into the interior became the heroes of the nation, but they became very often also the cruel oppressors of the Indians. It was in the priests of the Society of Jesus that they met with deliberate and organized opposition. The Jesuits fought the "Bandeirantes," offering as a practical example for justice their famous "reductions"—communal organizations which suffused local traditions with Christianity—and they fought the proposed formal enslavement of the Indians. In 1570 they obtained from the Portuguese Crown an anti-slavery decree.

The social question of slavery became assimilated to that of the Negroes imported from Africa. They were better adapted for heavy plantation work than were the Indians. The problem created by their employment did not differ essentially from that which existed in the United States, except that Negro slave-labor in the Brazilian national economy had an even greater importance. As in the Southern States of the North American union, the great Brazilian sugar plantations and later the coffee plantations lived on slavery. Moreover the spiritual and cultural climate of the "sugar age" in Brazilian history—which lasted from the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century—coincided with the period in which Brazilian nationality was formed. Both admitted at their base the institution of slavery. Yet the abolitionist movement reached Brazil. As early as 1789 the great French Revolution had its repercussions in Brazil: the abortive "inconfidencia of Minas Geraes" included the liberation of slaves in its program. Later, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was read in Brazil—as in Russia and everywhere else—and its effect was important; a common inspiration produced an analogous Brazilian literature. From then on the question of slavery dominated politics. Eighteen seventy-one was the year of "ventre libre," birth into legal freedom of all children of slave parents: in 1875 all slaves over seventy years old—law and reason have little sense of humor—were freed; in 1888 the "Lei Aurea" brought full abolition.

In the United States abolition meant the Civil War. In Brazil the shock to landed property deposed the ruling dynasty and proclaimed the republic.

The first republic

The new Brazilian republic represented the fulfillment of the idea of liberty. Its democratic constitution of 1891 recognized no social problem: it contented itself with confirming to the utmost possible degree intellectual and economic freedom. Private property, the unlimited right to dispose of it, the new freedom and equality of all men, these things seemed sufficient in themselves to solve all possible social questions. But—ominous for such simple certainty—the year of the first republican constitution of Brazil saw also the publication of "Rerum Novarum." The institution of private property was indeed confirmed, but the state and employers were charged expressly with the duty of caring for the welfare of the worker. The social movement was on its way. In Europe various states enacted the first great measures for the protection of labor: institutions were formed for social security. North America moved too. The experience of industrialization with its effect on the life of the laboring classes had demonstrated that political freedom alone does not suffice. But in Brazil this experience was lacking because there existed no industry and no urban proletariat. Machinery had come to Brazil in 1820; but still there was no important industrial production prior to the world war.

But vast numbers of Brazilians, indeed the majority of the Brazilian people, lived on a standard far beneath that of the working classes in the highly industrialized states. Because an industrial

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proletariat did not exist, in fact, during the first decades of the young republic, the social existence and the social needs of the millions who lived in insecurity and poverty through primitive agriculture, cattle breeding and semi-nomadic occupations, and who lived far from cities and railroads, far from churches, hospitals and police protection—these needs were not even noticed. The intellectuals saw their ideal in reaching the level of the European and North American "way of life," and they saw the possible realization of this ideal only within a narrow coastal border and urban sphere. "Real" Brazil was not yet discovered—the vast majority of its people then, as today, living in the remote interior of the gigantic country—and the patient, frugal "caboclo" of the interior slept his century-long sleep like his companion, the Russian "mujik." No Tolstoy appeared to interpret the life and needs and feelings of the South American shepherd and farmer, yet Brazil had her Euclydes da Cunha who looked at the "sertões" of the remote backwoods, at the "caboclo," their inhabitants, and showed them, even if romantically, to his compatriots in the cities. The problem of the Brazilian hinterland was not recognized at first: it is recognized now: for a complete solution it must still wait. It must await a further development of communications, a certain increase in local administrative personnel, a certain cultural capacity in the population to be assisted. Meanwhile the welfare of the people must depend on more primitive forms of mutual assistance and, it must be admitted, on a patriarchal relationship between the proprietor and his wholly- or semi-dependent agricultural workers.

The revolution of 1930

Brazil had taken part in the World War. As one of the signatory powers at Versailles the Brazilian Government found itself committed to the extremely interesting social action of the International Labor Bureau and of the League of Nations. The movement for social reform became of international concern. It is a pleasure to credit the war with something. In 1919 the first Brazilian law providing insurance for industrial accidents was enacted: four years later came social insurance for railroad employees together with old age pensions. But extensive social legislation was initiated only after the revolution of 1930 had overthrown the first republic. The course of that revolution in respect to the distribution of political power took several turns, but common to the whole decade of change is an incontestable and continuous progress toward implementing a will to protect the masses of the population. The ideological forces which worked for social reform and backed the Roosevelt administration were at work also in Brazil. The models followed, however, were European. For the establishment of social regulations and institutions, Brazil was inspired by the basic law a democratic Germany gave herself at Weimar in 1919, and furthermore by the conception of an occupational—i.e., syndicalist and corporate—organization of economy originally realized in fascist Italy; later, and with more immediate importance for Brazil, by Portugal. Excepting occupational organization and labor jurisdiction, there is no essential difference in social regulation between the Brazilian constitution of 1934, which maintained broad parliamentary rights, and the more authoritarian statute of 1937.

The guiding principle in the new constitutional attitude toward the economic order is this: Individual initiative is fully recognized but as coexisting with the initiative of the state which acts to overcome its deficiencies and to coordinate the various factors of production. Labor is declared a social duty enjoying the special protection and care of the state. The freedom of the individual is thus maintained as a principle: it is considerably weakened by the accompanying principles of state intervention and the social duty to work. It was to be expected that such social reform should meet with judicial resistance, and to this fact the existing Brazilian constitution bears witness. Courts are forbidden to rule on "purely political matters" and their power to declare constitutional, or not, acts of the legislature, or of the President of the Republic, are limited.

The constitution provides what in happier and more confident times would have been called an "enlightened" program for the protection of labor. But Brazil, like any state attempting extensive and sudden social reform, found at first that its regulations and its rules were difficult to apply, because it was faced by a lack of trained personnel. Plans need men to carry them out. Authority must have its representatives, and, where it invades the fields of social and economic relations, it remains relatively impotent until it can create and train a trustworthy civil service. In Brazil this class of civil servants had not been formed.

The need for this machinery to implement legislation was realized from the start. Immediately after the revolution, in 1931, a Federal Ministry of Labor was created under which there is now being developed a growing network of regional inspectorates to enforce social regulations. Results are being obtained. It is useful to summarize some of them specifically. Collective agreements between recognized associations of employers and employees determine the individual labor contract. The right to dismiss employees is strictly limited. After one year's employment in the same industrial firm, the employer must pay compensation to a dismissed employee at the rate of one month's salary for each year of service. Dismissal is only admitted for a "just cause," and after ten years'

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service only for a "grave fault"—in both cases the decision is reached through administrative procedure.

The working day is eight hours for a week of six days. Night work and overtime are paid higher rates. In general night work is forbidden to women and to the young. The normal minimum age for employment is 14 years.

Employees after twelve months' effective service have a right to 15 days vacation with full pay. Women are forbidden to work for four weeks before and after confinement. Social insurance pays them half pay during this period.

A minimum wage is fixed by law, varying according to regions and price levels but determined by considerations of food, housing, clothing, sanitation and transportation.

Compensation for occupational accidents must be paid by the employer and guaranteed through insurance or by posting bond. His responsibility includes annuities in case of death or disability and all necessary medical assistance. Social security insurance is provided through "caixas" in the case of one or a number of workshops, and by "institutos" which cover whole industries or professions. Both "institutos" and caixas" are governed by boards formed of equal employer-employee representation and are financed by the employer, the employee and the federal government. Social insurance is obligatory. Service by these institutions includes small loans to members, loans for housing, assistance to pregnant women and pensions to surviving families of members.

Social security institutions have come to mean something to the Brazilian worker. On December 31, 1938, there were six "institutos" covering seamen, stevedores, bank clerks, commercial employees, industrial employees, and transportation workers. The total active membership was 1,500,697. Including the membership of 98 "caixas," the total membership for social security institutions reached 1,786,104. With the total number of Brazilian employees calculated at 3,028,000 (excluding agricultural workers), more than half were thus insured. Only eight years earlier, in 1930, the total figure was 152,464.

Syndicates and corporations

The ideology of the new constitution implied, parallel to the growth of workers' organizations, a legal consolidation of the interests of employers. Brazil in a few years had passed from economic anarchy, through liberalism to its present corporate ideology. The first republican constitution of 1891 admitted the liberty of association, but trades unions, for the defense of the interests of their members, were inactive and unimportant until the revolution of 1930. In 1931 the provisional government enacted a law for the promotion of labor organization. The constitution of 1934 recognized syndicates and professional associations and assured "syndical pluralism" and the complete autonomy of syndicates. Free organization of labor was guaranteed by this constitution. But the authoritarian constitution introduced in 1937 brought a radical change to this principle. Brazil approached the Italian pattern in this question. Syndical organization is free. But in any given branch of production only one syndicate, recognized by the government, may represent the interests of the employers or of the employees. Furthermore the twin legal types of syndicates are merged into "corporations," representing "the forces of national labor," and to these corporations is given the status of state institutions. Strikes and lockouts are declared "anti-social" and "incompatible" with the interests of national production. Conflicts are decided by labor courts.

These statutory regulations already are partly embodied in legislation. A decree-law of 1939 defines and creates four types of syndicates. The national activity is divided into four corresponding groups. The first: employers in agriculture, industry and commerce. The second: employees in these fields. The third: persons engaged in the liberal arts. The fourth: those who are not employees and who work for themselves. For a regional syndicate of employers to obtain recognition from the Ministry of Labor, association of five managements or of ten individuals is necessary. In the case of an employee syndicate, its membership must total a third of those employed in the industry and in the region. Membership is not compulsory.

In 1939 there were 1,207 employees-syndicates; 1,145 syndicates of employers; 130 syndicates in the liberal professions: 80 syndicates in the field of small business men and artisans. The number of members in the syndicates is available unfortunately only for the Federal District (Rio de Janeiro). On December 31, 1938, there were 151,883 employees, 10,287 employers, 7,145 practicing liberal professions, 1,379 artisans and small business men.

A decree-law of 1939 provided a juridical organization for labor. For conciliation and arbitration of disputes arising in individual and collective labor agreements, in the first instance, there are special Conciliation Councils, and wherever these are not yet instituted, the ordinary courts are competent. From these courts, in the second instance, litigation goes before Regional Conciliation Councils. An ultimate and final appeal may be made before the National Council of Labor. These special labor courts are composed of one jurist, preferably a judge, acting as presiding officer, together with a membership composed equally of employers and employees. In any action concerning wages the principles of a "just wage" and a "just return" guide the court's decision. An

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attempt at conciliation must be made; if this is not successful, compulsory arbitration follows. Under certain circumstances labor courts are empowered to extend the validity of a collective labor agreement to workers in the same industry or profession even when they have not been parties to the action.

Legislation concerning new corporations is being held in abeyance until the syndical organization on which the corporations are based has been completed.

Some results

This system of trade-unions and corresponding employer unions to which the government grants monopolistic rights, at first sight must appear disconcerting and strange to American eyes. Upon closer consideration, it may well be argued that in the special circumstances prevailing in Brazil, which are those of a very recently industrialized nation, state intervention in the field of labor relations need not mean the suppression of free initiative—actually it may serve to encourage self-organization. Indeed the formation and the development of syndical organizations in Brazil can be attributed, in fact, to the legislative and administrative measures that have been taken. It should not be forgotten that there are certain compulsory aspects in the regulations of the American National Labor Relations Act, and that, in America as well as in Brazil, collective bargaining by the majority representation of an industry is binding for a minority not directly represented in the discussions. In England workers regard a single collective bargaining agency as a self-evident necessity. And in those countries where proportional representation prevails, the interests of minorities and individuals have been subordinated very generally to those of the trade union possessing the greatest power. The question of determining the bargaining agencies remains a complex one and it may be said that in Brazil there are some Catholics, among the many who are studying labor relations, who would prefer a plurality system of unions. These sociologists of course have in mind the formation of trade unions whose action would be inspired by Catholic ideology after the manner of the Christian trade unions which existed in pre-Hitler Germany.

Social reconstruction in Brazil, even if it is planned and applied principally in and for the more highly developed urban and coastal districts—and it must necessarily start there—will have an important, though delayed, effect also on the problems of the populations of the interior. Real progress in these vast regions must still await the development of adequate transportation facilities, railroads and highways, and it must wait also until great advances have been made in local administration—with its problem of personnel—in education and in the control of sanitary conditions. These pressing problems cannot be solved overnight: they must however be attacked before it becomes too late. And there would be no possibility of their even being faced, there would be no carrying into the interior of anything in the nature of social progress and a civilized way of life, unless peaceful labor relations be established first of all in those centers of Brazilian life from which must come the necessary leadership. Much of the social legislation and many of the institutions set up in Brazil today are inspired visibly by Catholic social ideals. The principle of the "just wage" is Catholic: the duty of the state and that of private initiative to act jointly, so that justice in social relations may become a fact, is Catholic also. And as a background for much that has been realized, even if partially, of Brazilan social progress, there is the fact that there exists a strong Brazilian Catholic social action. If one may hope for the future, that hope is possible in some measure because such an element is there.

To Rebuild Europe

By JOHN J. STONBOROUGH

TO ASK BRITAIN, fighting for her life near the brink of defeat, what are her aims is stupidity embroidered with presumption. To assume a British victory brought about by the active help of the United States and to reflect upon the following reconstruction of Europe is premature but permissible.

No one can foresee when or how the steadily broadening world conflict will end. Yet it is probably true that the end of this war, like each of its successive stages, will differ sharply from general expectation. It will end, I believe, in a revolution or a series of connected revolutions dependent for their geographic location upon who is the victor and upon the severity of the enemy's defeat. If Germany loses, the revolution in Germany proper and in the countries ruled by her will be accompanied by bloodshed and a butchering of nazis which will make the nazi mass slaughter in Poland and elsewhere seem but a prelude. For this there are two main reasons: the immense hatred engendered by nazi oppression and, second, the example set by them. As an Austrian put it, "Now we've been shown how it's done."

If Adolf Hitler does not emerge as the de facto victor of the second world war, if he cannot continue to rule Europe, then the question of that continent's economic and political reorganization under the leadership of the winning combine of powers—America and Great Britain—will have to be answered. Many people are today convinced that the national state as it existed in Europe before this war has become outmoded. They feel that technical science, economic development and

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air power have destroyed the national frontier and that the trend of the times is toward bigger and more scientific entities. Political thinking and political action today have come to be in terms of whole continents. Ours, it is recognized, is an era of transnational politics. Adolf Hitler's concept of *continental conquest* must be superseded by the newer concept of *continental reconstruction*. If the war ends in a de facto victory of the free countries, the cardinal problem ahead will be to build a political economy for Europe suited to modern times and to the real needs (hitherto never scientifically determined) of that continent.

This, first and foremost, means that political independence, so strongly fought for from 1848 to 1918 and now extinguished by Germany (and Russia?), must be reestablished.

It means, with equal emphasis, that political independence must be redefined to include total economic collaboration. It means in brief the creation of a liberated Europe, where political independence is welded to economic unity. It is a commonplace which bears repeating that it was the endeavor to build an economic structure of isolated and competitive entities following the attainment of freedom by the smaller nations in 1918 which, in large measure, produced the cancer of poverty and depression, which, in turn, spawned the Old Tyranny now striving to masquerade as a New Order.

Federation

The nazis pay lip service to a reorganization of Europe, and many people here and abroad, under the impetus of Clarence Streit's "Union Now," believe in some sort of a federation of European states modeled perhaps along the lines of either the United States or the British Empire. In practice, however, the German New Order means the annihilation of certain "lower races" and the harnessing of all European countries to the economic and strategic advantage of their conqueror. To quote Doctor Ley, a lower race "needs less room, less clothing, less food and less culture than a higher race." The artificial organization existing in Europe today is largely anarchy held down by terror.

A modern Europe must assuredly have many of the distinguishing features of a *Gross Raum Wirtschaft*. It is agreed that the tiny economic entities, erected upon the tiny political sovereignties, and their attendant tariff and monetary barriers must never be rebuilt. For it is these obstructions that bear a major responsibility for the fact that both socially and economically the nations of Europe are today at death's door.

The future economic and the future political organization of Europe are interdependent. Professor Lionel Robbins has observed, "The idea that there can be a satisfactory economic reconstruction in Europe without an antecedent political reconstruction runs counter, not merely to all reasonable supposition, but also to the lessons of all recent experience. The economic problem is essentially political."

If the new system to be constructed is to have political vitality, it must liberate Europe from the yoke of oppression, yet it must not look to the past; it must not seek to turn back the hands of the clock, it must not seek to reestablish the status quo either as regards economico-political structure or frontiers. The new system must endeavor to understand the needs of today as well as to correct the injustices of the past.

The future will demand great sacrifices from all nations and most of the necessary operations will hurt. Three main series of problems emerge which will militate against the successful reconstruction of Europe.

Three barriers

First, what may be termed the technical problem? How to strike a workable balance between common authority and individual sovereignty? There are the questions of who are to rule, how are they to rule, on what problems are they to rule, how are their rulings to be enforced. On what formula of representation can victor and vanquished, large country and small, agricultural nation and industrial, dynamic nation and static agree?

Another set of questions, each one of them immensely difficult, confronting the international organization falls into two broad categories: (a) The frontiers between the countries, and (b) the organization of just and efficient relations between widely divergent political, economic and social systems—between different types of government, economic structures, standards of social progress.

The common denominator of economic and political life for as widely different a group of members will indeed be difficult to find. Professor J. E. Meade in his pertinent book, "The Economic Basis of a Durable Peace," has put the question thus: "Can any connecting economic principles be found which are of general application to all economic systems and which can therefore form the basis of an international organization comprising both 'planned' and 'liberal' economies?"

Care to be exercised

In all fields the key decisions of control will have to be worked out carefully, for there can be no meddlesome interference in all and sundry activities of the individual states.

A sharp distinction will have to be made between benevolent dictatorship and criminal absolutism. The latter must be eradicated but the former, as we can see from Greece, Turkey and Portugal, may well be the form of government

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best adapted to the problems, institutions and the national temperament of those countries.

It is important to see that no plan be even considered which would seek to force the nations of Europe into a common pattern or a general mould for which they are not suited by temperament, inclination or history. That way lies disaster. The consequence of seeking to foist parliamentary democracy upon all the nations of Europe at Versailles is visible to even the most obtuse. In his "Holy Roman Empire," Lord Bryce stated, "The permanence of an institution depends not merely on the material interests that support it, but on its conformity with the deep-rooted sentiment of the men for whom it has been made." Or, as Sir Norman Angell lately observed, "Transfer the British constitution to certain Central American or Balkan states and not one of the evils that now curse them would be remedied. Transfer one of their present constitutions (often excellent) to Britain or the United States and you would still have in these latter countries a society as orderly and safe as at present."

Europe's spiritual state

The third series of problems militating against the rehabilitation of Europe springs from the spiritual state of that continent. The state of mind of Europe will very likely prohibit and make impossible the necessary readjustments. The revolt against defeat and tyranny which, as I have said, will produce unbelievable bloodshed once German military might totters, and which, I believe, cannot be prevented, is not an auspicious introduction to a new freedom. Yet how curb the abuse of freedom without resorting to nearly the same gory tactics employed by today's master of Europe? Moreover, I envisage the impossibility of constructive effort on the part of nations suffering from the ravages of years of ideological infection and from the consequences of anarchy suppressed by terror. The deep-seated urge for destruction and self-destruction evident in Spain, Norway, Roumania, etc., is symptomatic of a mass state of mind which only a person trained in medicine can appreciate in all its implications.

In Europe the conviction never has and probably never will prevail that the fate of all nations on that continent is ultimately tied together; that in the last analysis all European countries stand and fall as one. These nations, their eyes glued on history, are constantly seeking to avenge the wrongs done them in their more than thousand-year old past. They are therefore incapable of adjusting themselves to the stern needs of the present. If Europe can survive, if it can be saved, then all the peoples of that continent must be capable of understanding that the freedom of each country in the European community of nations is circumscribed by the freedom of all.

Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

IT IS a very notable event that will take place in Kansas City, Missouri, on May 22, when a group of philosophers, sociologists, theologians, labor leaders and publicists will hold a "national symposium" on "The Good Life in an Industrial Era," commemorating the fiftieth and the tenth anniversaries, respectively, of the two great social encyclicals, the "Rerum Novarum" of Pope Leo XIII and "Quadragesimo Anno" of Pope Pius XI. It will be a joint effort of the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Kansas City, the Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, D.D., and of Rockhurst College.

I am in a position to testify, in some degree at least, to the far-reaching preparations for the celebration. Being in Kansas City some weeks ago, I had the privilege of attending one of several preparatory meetings, through which Bishop O'Hara and members of the faculty of Rockhurst College have prepared the ground for the one-day meeting, which will focus and distribute the results of the studies and the ideas of diverse groups of the leaders of the various elements upon whom the problems of our industrial era depend for their solution, or at least their alleviation. The meeting which I attended was of the chief labor leaders not only of Kansas City, but of other industrial centers, and it was plain that the project, as it was explained to them by Bishop O'Hara and the other speakers, had already aroused keen and thoughtful attention. I heard also that similar results had followed other meetings with industrial and financial leaders.

Among the members of the symposium listed in the preliminary agenda are Monsignor John A. Ryan, who above all others has been the leader of the Catholic forces striving during the last quarter of a century to bring the teachings of the Catholic Church, as enunciated in Rerum Novarum and reiterated and made even more timely and forceful by Pope Pius XI in Quadragesimo Anno, to bear upon American life, in fact as well as in theory. Monsignor Ryan is to preach the sermon at the Mass with which the celebration will open, his subject being "Fifty Years of the Social Doctrine of the Church." In the forenoon there will be a session devoted to "The Good Life": its meaning; its enfranchisement of labor; its surety for management; its various handicaps, or rather those "blind spots and barriers" with which the effort to achieve social justice must expect to meet and struggle. The mid-day session will deal with "Economic Democracy and the Organic Human Ideal." In the afternoon the subject will be "National Cooperation and the Good Life," while an evening discussion will provide summaries of the many papers. Such leading figures in the field of labor relations as Philip Murray of the CIO and George Meany of the AFL, Father John P. Boland; writers and publicists of the eminence of Father Wilfrid Parsons, Father Gerald Phelan, William Hard, Frederick P. Kenkel and Walde-

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mar Gurian, give full assurance that the deliberations will be the reverse of superficial.

It is to be hoped that the event will attract industrial leaders whose influence and competence will be comparable to those of the other participants. Ever since the close of the first World War the social action department of NCWC has carried on a really extensive and deep work of education and propaganda, in the original and healthful sense of that much abused term, on behalf of the social doctrines of the Church. In nearly all sections of the country, certainly in all the most important industries cities and areas, not only have meetings been held, but study clubs of permanent effect and systematic follow-up work have been spread and maintained. It would not be fair to say that these efforts have been neglected by Catholic industrial leaders, the employing class generally, and Catholic professional men, for there is proof to the contrary; nevertheless, it seems to me as one who has watched the work over a good number of years that it is unfortunately true that Catholic employers and leaders in the industrial and financial fields have not cooperated as fully as have the workers.

In this respect, of course, such men as have not only ignored but, in far too many instances, have obstructed and fought against the promulgation of the social doctrines of the Church and have at times exercised their influence with the authorities in the Church to frustrate the efforts of the few zealous ecclesiastics, bishops and priests alike, who promote such doctrines, have been one of the major barriers to the progress of social justice. And that the denial of an adequate measure of social justice to the workers of the world has been one of the greatest causes of the present world war and universal social revolution is now abundantly evident. Fifty years ago, when Leo XIII issued his momentous letter, he said: "We have now laid before you, both who are the persons and what are the means whereby this most arduous question must be solved. Everyone should put his hand to the work which falls to his share, and that at once and straightway, lest the evil which is already so great become through delay absolutely beyond remedy." In many countries, including a number where the main body of the population, and most of their leaders, were at least nominally Catholic, social disaster of the most terrible kind has come about, largely through neglect by Catholics of the plain warnings and the curative teachings of their Church. In our own country, matters have been better, though far from as favorable as they might be. It is to be hoped that the meeting in Kansas City will serve as another great occasion to promote the most important of all the social tasks of the Church in our own country.

Communications

CATHOLIC SEMINAR IN PERU

Emmitsburg, Md.

TO the Editors: Luis Ferroz is correct in urging university training and a deep, abiding interest in those who would promote inter-American cultural relations. (THE COMMONWEAL, March 21, 1941.)

With a view to introducing Americans to Ibero-America, a Catholic Seminar to Peru has been organized for the coming summer. The aim is to coordinate this seminar with the summer session (in reality a winter session south of the equator) of the Catholic University of Lima. On a limited scale, this may help to approach both objectives mentioned by your correspondent. If the plan is successful it will be expanded to reach other American Republics.

Some North Americans, who have had university training in sociology and economics, have tried to study the contemporaneous social and economic institutions of Ibero-America at first hand. It would be fair to assume that they have more than a transient interest in the subject.

As for General Francisco Franco, to whom Luis Ferroz refers as "played out," he did effective work as a military leader. Whether he will prove to be a statesman I do not know. At the moment, handicapped by blockade and counter-blockade, he is striving to maintain his country's independence, as he promised some of us that he would. Occasionally, in Spain and in America, imperfect human instruments are utilized in an emergency, *"faute de mieux!"*

JOSEPH F. THORNING.

[*A Mexican Seminar, and the possibility of others, was reported in the communication column of April 4, by Rev. James A. Magner.—The Editor.*]

WAR AIMS

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: The demand for England's war aims has become untimely at the moment and in general is out of place.

A shift of fortune has placed England on the desperately defensive. Any post-war aim she may now proffer could command little regard. Any statement of aims definite enough to be understood would cleave her people and friends into warring camps whichever way she faced. The conservatives would not be content with what the liberals approved and vice versa.

But the greatest impediment to a declaration of purpose is English psychology and the habit of Englishmen to avoid deliberate planning. Britishers are too adventurous to bind themselves strongly to unyielding formulas of action. They are intrinsically empiricists and compromisers.

The English prefer not to fence their activities about with written constitutions and rigid boundaries. They carry on by meeting the exigencies of the day as they arise, always confident of their ability to master difficulties though it be by just muddling through. They use yesterday's precedent only as it illuminates the wisdom of today's behavior. This habit breeds and activates their spirit of freedom but also makes for sudden and unpredictable alliances with other peoples.

The situation carries our interest beyond the problem of all-out aid to Britain. The question of post-war aims becomes our problem. What plan can we offer to the world with a chance that it will be listened to attentively? What can we proclaim that is worth the risk of all we

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have and all we are? What can we offer that is likely to secure for us world leadership for peace, freedom and progress?

Fortunately, America has a plan to offer. In the past eight years we have developed an ideology and implemented it with a program of legislative and administrative reform contrasting with the unspeakable methods of totalitarianism. We have experimented with remedies for the evils which bred the dictators under changing world conditions.

In place of autocracy we have chosen the way of perfected democracy.

Taken in its broader and non-partisan sense we may call our plan "New Deal Democracy." Its principles favor a broader conception of economic and social rights and freedoms, of solicitude and direct help for the people who "have not," of self-government based on planning for the general welfare.

Added to the Bill of Rights we can offer to all nations, including the British, the spirit and the reforming influence of New Dealism.

Born of free institutions, nurtured in a sensible design of freedom, tested in the cauldron of experiment, what we call the New Deal is a practical yet idealistic approach to a humane cure for the abuses that have generated poverty, war and tyranny in Europe.

If not this—what else have we to offer?

ALBERT A. VOLK.

NEGRO SEMINARY

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: Compliments are due to Harry Sylvester for his enlightening article on the admirable work of the Fathers of the Society of the Divine Word in conducting the Catholic Negro seminary at Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. A possible misunderstanding, however, might arise from Mr. Sylvester's words: "Other Orders of priests in this country are beginning to be actively interested in work among the Negroes." He then mentions the Jesuits and the Redemptorists as having "made definite moves," and the work of the Congregation of the Holy Cross.

To those at all acquainted with the Negro field it sounds strange, to say the least, that there is no mention of the banner work of the Society of St. Joseph, the one Congregation in this country who are entirely devoted to the Negro. Today there are 145 Josephite priests. In their charge are 78,795 Catholics in 67 resident and 32 out-missions. In similar fashion the lion's share of the apostolic work for the Negroes is borne by the Fathers of the Holy Ghost scattered throughout the United States. Included in their work is the apostolate in New York, Philadelphia, Arkansas, Oklahoma, New Orleans, etc. The entire State of Georgia and much of the colored work in Los Angeles is in the hands of the society of African Missions from Lyons, France.

A similar record may be made in more recent times of the work of the Passionists, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Capuchins (Milwaukee), the Society of St. Edmund, the Vincentian Fathers, as in Germantown, Pennsylvania, and New Orleans, etc., not to speak of the outstanding work of the Benedictine Fathers at Rock Castle, Virginia, and in Atchison, Kansas. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate are pushing into the field with their usual energy, while some of the oldest work for the colored in the East was done over a century ago by the Sulpician Fathers in Baltimore. The Jesuit "definite moves" Mr. Sylvester refers to were begun by Father Hunter in Maryland in 1740. To this we must add the numberless undertakings of the diocesan clergy in diocese after diocese in the United States, pastoral, educational, charitable, social welfare, etc. The Catholic record today can only be printed in a loose leaf binding, for it is steadily expanding.

JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.

The Stage & Screen

The Experimental Theatre

THE SECOND and third productions of the Experimental Theatre were rather more in the line of experiment than was the opening "Trojan Women," and the third in particular was most encouraging for the success of this admirable enterprise. The play was "Not in Our Stars" by George H. Corey, and proved to have humor, bite and incisiveness of character drawing. It is the story of an Irish-American family, the son of which has been to reform-school and is to be taken back if his father cannot prove to the authorities that he is able to take care of him. The father is a boastful, scheming, good-hearted ne'er-do-well, and though it is doubtful if he would ever have been conceived had not Sean O'Casey written "Juno and the Peacock," he none the less lives in his own right. He has also a satellite, as O'Casey's Fluther had "the Jockser." Mr. Corey's pen has acid on it, but an acid modified by a strong dose of sentiment, and the result is that Pibby Hoolihan and Jerry Quirt are far from unmitigated rascals. In fact aside from the corrupt Alderman O'Bannon there are no unmitigated rascals in "Not in Our Stars." It is at base a comedy of sentiment. With some cutting and rearrangement, especially of the last act, it ought, when properly cast, to have a chance on Broadway. The Experimental Theatre gave some excellent performances, notably those of Walter Burke as the son, Frances Reid as the daughter, Clement O'Loghlen as the satellite, Leo Needham as the would-be policeman, and Hallam Bosworth as the uncle. Unfortunately Harold Vermilyea was miscast as Hoolihan. It is a part for Barry Fitzgerald, Arthur Sinclair or Ralph Cullinan. But all things considered, the Experimental Theatre is to be congratulated on the presentation of such an excellent play.

"Steps Leading Up" was a less successful effort. This play by George Harr has to do with the fight between the rank and file of the millinery industry with their crooked labor leaders. It is written with sincerity and knowledge of the subject, and has a number of veritable

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characters and a few poignant scenes. The trouble is that Mr. Harr is not yet a playwright. He takes too long to set forth what he has to say and clutters the action with unnecessary dialogue. Yet the acting and the direction were on the whole excellent, and in James Gregory New York has discovered a young actor whose straightforward manner and sincerity ought to win him a real place. Of course plays like "Steps Leading Up" do not pose any great difficulties for the actor, who needs little more than be himself and to know how to speak realistic dialogue. Whether Mr. Gregory or any of the other performers can do more than this it will take other plays to determine. But at least the actors of the Experimental Theatre have proved that they are more than adequate in the type of play they were given. In a day when so many actors and actresses have no opportunity to show what they can do, such an organization as the Experimental Theatre deserves the warm support of all who love the theatre. Let us hope that next season will find it still advancing.

GRENVILLE VERNON.

In Xanadu Did Kubla Kane

AFTER getting an unprecedented amount of free ballyhoo (ranging from that baked ham with the pasted-on beard which was sent to Orson Welles, all the way to William Randolph Hearst's threatened suit and recriminations), *"Citizen Kane"* is finally available for your inspection and enjoyment. And the surprising thing is that the picture itself is an event in cinema worth all the pre-release excitement it created.

Whether Mr. Hearst would have a leg to stand on in court must be settled by far more legal minds than mine. Nevertheless the picture is about a very wealthy, egocentric publisher who owned a string of papers; who after losing his first ideals became a ruthless molder of mass opinion, a yellow journalist; who was proud that the Spanish-American War was called "Kane's War"; who had no childhood because he was brought up by a bank; who was unhappy with his first wife because Kane wanted everything on his own terms including love, and Kane loved only Kane; who might have been elected Governor except for the sudden, pre-election exposure of a mistress and love nest; who was unhappy with his second wife—this former mistress whom he tried unsuccessfully to foist on the world as an opera singer; who built a castle on a man-made mountain—his Xanadu where he stored the loot of the world, and where he died, a bitter, lonely old man without a finished work, convictions or assets of real worth.

But its story, even such an interesting one, is not the main reason for this being one of the outstanding films of all times. It is Orson Welles's brilliant manner of telling about this complicated person that makes the picture unforgettable. The films opens with Kane's death and last word: "Rosebud." Quickly follows a March-of-Time style newsreel that reveals the public facts about this publicly respected, personally disliked man of power. The newsreel's editor wants more facts, some intimate details that would expose Kane as more than a legendary public figure; so he commissions a reporter to get the real dope on Kane and "Rosebud." As the reporter reads the diary of the banker responsible for Kane's upbringing and financial matters, as he calls on Kane's best friend, his assistant publisher, his second wife, the facts are revealed bit by bit, forward, backward, repeated until at the end, you yourself must fit together this jig-saw puzzle that is Citizen Kane, and at the very end only you know the secret of "Rosebud."

Orson Welles, who produced, directed and (with Herman J. Mankiewicz) wrote this screenplay, never once makes concessions to ordinary movie-goers. His film is so intelligently adult that half its audience will miss its point.

The picture's very subtlety may be Welles's downfall (from a box office, not artistic, point of view), for audiences used to a straightforward plot and character delineation may be upset at seeing a picture whose story jumps forward and back and only drops hints for the tired business man and Ameche-loving fan to clutch at. The excellent acting throughout (by Welles who plays the lead with amazing versatility and insight into character, and by Joseph Cotten, George Coulouris, Dorothy Comingore, Everett Sloane and the other Mercury actors, most of whom are new to the screen) will confuse fans looking for romance, glamor and heroes. Although these fans might overlook the significance of Gregg Toland's photography, even they cannot miss its beauty. To Toland's expert work, *"Citizen Kane"* owes much of its success; for his shadows, camera angles and shots of great depth are as much part of this picture as are Welles's superb direction and Welles's finished portrait of Kane.

Already Hollywood is abuzz over the technique. But just how much it will be copied depends on box offices. And who should get credit for what is hard to say. Welles deserves applause for hiring Toland, for giving him time and money to experiment. In any case, the finished result is yours.

And yours also are certain episodes in the film that are already thrilling spell-bound audiences: Kane's stark, solemn, lonely death; the exhibition of maleness and power in the celebration at the newspaper office when Kane buys the whole staff of a rival paper; the passage of time with Kane and his first wife; the début in the Kane-built opera house of the second Mrs. Kane—this excellent scene is told twice, from two points of view; that long, breathless interval as the drunken drama critic slowly walks toward Kane, who is writing a slam review of his own wife's performance; those hollow, empty, reverberating conversations in Kane's tasteless, junk-filled Xanadu. Of course, in spite of all the praise, the film does have flaws. Factory windows are always broken; and geniuses are always expecting too much of their audiences. Some of the early scenes are confusing, and the technique of keeping the speaker in shadow while light is cast on other performers is used too often. But in the really fine scenes, Welles shows the Hollywood sneerers, who laughed when he stepped up to the director's megaphone, that he came to their town, he saw and he conquered. And *"Citizen Kane"* is the proof.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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Books of the Week

Turkey

Turkey. Emil Lengyel. Random. $3.75.

THERE has never been a very readable volume on Turkey in modern times, and Dr. Lengyel's, while not a formal history of Turkey, is nevertheless the most valuable work thus far presented to American readers. Its style is literary, and its facts, in so far as they concern Turkish history itself, are sounder than one will find in most popular versions of modern history.

"Turkey," of course, is a timely subject today, when no one can be sure what part, if any, that power may play in the present game of European power politics and modern war.

The work concentrates on Turkey in modern times and brings the story up to February 18, 1941, thus including the recent Bulgar-Turkish peace pact, instigated, no doubt, by Germany. Within the past two or three weeks, the book has been featured in prominent metropolitan reviews, and it suffices to say here that neither the flowery and ornately laudatory comments nor the condescending and obviously erroneous comments of our leading literary media were either accurate or profound.

The Dardanelles are not so important today as in earlier times. Perhaps the commerce of the future will traverse the Vardar Valley to Saloniki. Although apparently defeated in the last great war, Turkey recuperated under the guiding hand of the late Ataturk. Dr. Lengyel considers him the greatest of the modern statesmen. Not even Hitler faced a more hopeless task. But he was aided and he survived his "Turkish Ordeal," Halide Edib to the contrary notwithstanding.

The first half of the present work deals mainly with the significance of Turkish history, religion and politics in the modern world. When necessary the author delves back into the recesses of a glorious past, as in the case of Mohammed. Seldom, however, does he intrude medieval aspects into the reader's line of vision.

This history is an interpretation of Turkey's greatness and of Turkish importance to us of today. To that extent, it is not history. It analyzes also the more prominent acts of leading Turks, such as Kemal Pasha (Ataturk), Inonu, and the last obstreperous Sultan, Abdul Hamid. Lawrence of Arabia appears also, as an aside in the ebb and flow of the story, and also the valiant Hussein. Lawrence's hopes were defeated by the British Foreign Office, and he afterward regretted his extravagant promises just as he regretted also the dastardly treatment accorded his allies. He was "obsessed" with these regrets, the "Pillars of Wisdom" notwithstanding.

Dr. Lengyel does not attempt to carry his story back to the origins of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia and Turkestan; neither does he attempt to write a continuous history of Turkish civilization. That would be impossible in a book of this scope. All that he does is to interpret for the average curious reader the leading facts and leading personalities of recent times in that enigma of the Near East, Turkey.

For the most part he has succeeded admirably in his intentions. His explanation of the "Turkish revolution" of the nineteen-twenties is perhaps his most valuable contribution.

LLOYD WENDELL ESHLEMAN.

BIOGRAPHY

Whittling Boy—The Story of Eli Whitney. Roger Burlingame. Harcourt. $3.00.

THE VERY unusual interest of this book lies in the facts of Whitney's life, which are not well known, but equally in the way Mr. Burlingame has treated them. The achievement is one of approach and style. The problem was not simple. Eli Whitney made certain inventions of which the best known is his cotton gin and the essential the creation of machine tools—which he used to make rifles. Writing more than a hundred years after Whitney lived, it is no surprise that Mr. Burlingame should realize fully the importance of these inventions. In the "March of the Iron Man" and in "Engines of Democracy" he has studied and given us the evidence which shows that they altered the course of American life and, through our life, that of the world. Whitney was the Prometheus of mass production. One could, then, easily have written a book about Whitney's work showing what, in fact, it led to. For we know the good and the evil which came from it and it determined many of the problems we face in our times. But in such a book the man, Whitney, would have remained unexplained.

Mr. Burlingame has always been interested in human beings: the machine, apart from its fascination as a toy, has importance only through the effect it has on human beings. And in this book he wanted to see how and why and when and where this young American—thinking and whittling out of season when all his comrades were at work in Massachusetts fields—came to make one of those discoveries which, like masterpieces in literature, leave the world irremediably changed from what it was before. So he has worked from Eli Whitney outward to what the men of his time saw and thought of his action. There is nothing in the account which could not have developed naturally in Whitney's mind, or in those of the Southerners who stole his cotton gin, or in that of Jefferson who understood him. The pitfall which the author has avoided is that of the facile omniscience which is his simply because he can see what the characters in his book can only foresee. In a determinedly simple and direct style Mr. Burlingame has told an important story which will interest the young and the old. In it we find the beginnings of the America we know and a character whose genius did much to create it. What a wonderful film it would make.

C. G. PAULDING.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Labor and National Defense. Twentieth Century Fund. $1.00.

HIDDEN AWAY in the facts and recommendations of this emergency volume of the Twentieth Century Fund is a democratic people's insistence that there be no interference with labor's right of assembly and right of free speech. The book is based primarily on a quick survey and is therefore just a report of the Research Staff's factual findings on the subjects of America's labor needs, labor supply and labor problems, as they arise or may later arise during our gigantic preparations for national defense. It is topped off by a very careful list of recommendations made by the Fund's Labor Committee, a separate entity, distinct from the group of fact-finders.

We are told that in these special industries, about 35 percent of the men needed will be skilled workers, 40 percent semi-skilled and 25 percent unskilled, and that the most acute shortages will be in the metal trades, which

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conforms with my own general information. It is stated further that all industries, including those which are non-defense, will require more workers than are now available. There will be an end to the unemployment problem during the emergency period. The Staff has some valuable comment on training programs and the possible "dilution" of skilled labor.

Of greater current importance, of course, are the program points in Chapter Five, recommending certain measures to keep the needed labor supply adequate in number and in skill, to maintain existing labor standards, with modifications only after their necessity has been shown and after consultation with management and men, and to prevent or adjust, when not prevented, labor controversies. Noteworthy is the expressed advocacy of a Federal Emergency Mediation Board with appellate jurisdiction over disputes voluntarily placed before lower conciliation services. Noteworthy also is the recommendation that all labor contracts, by free action of the parties, contain a clause against strikes or lockouts.

The volume is invaluable. Perhaps too little influence is attributed by the editors to the Labor Relations Acts, federal and state. There are many who hold that mediation's modern growth and success hangs heavily upon the spade work done by the Labor Relations Boards during the last seven hysterical years. JOHN P. BOLAND.

Introduction to the Cooperative Movement. Edited by Andrew J. Kress. Harper. $3.00.

THE LATEST addition to the growing American library of cooperative literature is rich in information. Its 300 readings selected from pamphlets, meetings, committee studies and substantial books approach consumers cooperation from almost every angle—organizational, theoretical, historical, religious, political. The authors quoted range from Robert Owen and Fourier down to George Russell (AE) and Toyohiko Kagawa. This wide range is further extended by a generous bibliography. This 350-page book is a one-volume reference library, better for browsing or consulting on specific points than for reading from cover to cover, except for those who can adjust themselves repeatedly to rapid changes of style and treatment. For the general reader Gerald Richardson's "ABC of Cooperatives" is a simpler, more clear-cut, more successful, if less comprehensive, introduction to the subject. Professor Kress's book is more of a second reader than a primer.

Much of the historical material cited from the past 20 years makes sad reading. The countries in which consumers cooperation was most highly developed and democracy was becoming something of a basic economic reality are described in this new book, with the exception of Russia, in terms of several years ago. It is heartrending to read, for instance, that in Czechoslovakia "fully half the population are directly interested in cooperative organizations, which number approximately 13,000." That in Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland "cooperation has become one of the most potent forces in reconstructing the economic life of the new republics." That "today, Germany, although very tardy in entering the domain of distributive cooperation, advances with giant strides."

That so many of these facts and statistics have already been rudely thrown out of date points to one of the weaknesses of the consumers cooperative movement. Essentially educational, evolutionary, gradualistic it has easily fallen prey to forces that roughly seized political power. And

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then, as in Russia, Italy, Germany, Czechoslovakia and the rest, the constructive work of years is quickly swept aside as cooperative organizations are exploited and swallowed up by the totalitarian state. Of course the original ideals still persist in the hearts of individual cooperators who are constrained to suffer in silence. European cooperation may be reborn.

On the other hand coops if non-political by nature have much to contribute to the inner strength of a political democracy. As one of the sections of this book clearly establishes, they have yet to play a major rôle in the economy of the United States. The American people have yet to feel the pinch of poverty on a nation-wide scale, chain stores have too big a head start, there are such factors as "the mobility of American wage earners," too much extension of credit on sales, the increase of mass production as against private ownership of family-sized farms, etc., etc. But it is only in this country, which is geographically secure and has political democracy as a tradition, that cooperatives would have the time and scope to develop their immense potentialities for human well-being.

At the present moment we sorely need to re-build our American democracy from within. We need to give more substance to the popular conception and consciousness of democracy. We need to give our people something vital to do for the cause of American democracy. By establishing and increasing personal stakes and personal responsibilities, by building new democratic institutions answering the needs of the times we can still make American democracy more of a living reality. That is why credit unions and cooperative stores, cooperative wholesales and manufacturing plants, farmers, buying and marketing associations and the like should expand to a more leading note throughout the nation. And that is why Professor Kress has performed a useful service in bringing out this richly informative book. EDWARD SKILLIN, JR.

TRAVEL

Mongol Journeys. Owen Lattimore. Doubleday. $4.00.

PERHAPS no other author surpasses the editor of "Pacific Affairs" in conveying an intimate but authoritative picture of the Mongol people. Here he recreates their vanishing life and customs by freely drawing from his memory and rough field notes.

It is difficult to describe adequately the contents of this book. Except for one trip to the sanctuary of Jenghis Khan and another to witness the Obo sacrifice, Mr. Lattimore apparently did not wish to go anywhere in particular. His book is popular and informal, lacks an index, follows no chronological scheme of events and does not seem to have any real unity in its presentation.

Although in his earlier journeys the author relied upon his Chinese, in 1931 he got to work studying Mongol and a year later took to the open road accompanied by the real "hero" of this book, the lama Arash, a refugee from Outer Mongolia. He wanted to master the language, to live like Mongols and to understand their point of view. Accordingly in discussing Lama Buddhism he is interested in what the Mongols believe about Lamaism and how they act within the framework of their religious culture, rather than in the official teachings of its canons.

Yet since Mr. Lattimore is a scholar by choice, his book is literally packed with folklore, shrewd political observations and historical odds and ends. Particularly noteworthy is his chapter which interprets Chinese frontier history. Finally political corruption and anarchy have

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today brought about a scene of incredible savagery. Roy Chapman Andrews once said he had "never known a dirtier people than the Mongols." Not everyone will approve of Mr. Lattimore's frankness and humor.

THEODORE M. AVERY, JR.

WAR

Squadrons Up! Noel Monks. Whittlesey. $2.50.

THIS IS the first eyewitness account of RAF activities in France from September, 1939, till the tragic days of Dunkerque. Written by the *Daily Mail* correspondent who was stationed with Squadrons 1 and 73 (Fighter Squadrons), it is a chronicle of the squadrons' and their personnel's adventures. It is replete with compelling tales of individual exploits and excerpts from the log books of both squadrons.

Squadrons 1 and 73, called the Advanced Air Striking Force, composed of men from all parts of the empire, bore the brunt as pioneer groups must. The author tells of battles in the sky, 20,000 feet above the earth at 360 miles an hour. Odds of sixty to one was not uncommon. The exploits of E. J. (Cobber) Kain are told with an almost chauvinistic admiration, and the story of the courageous youth's accidental death does not detract from his rightful place among war heroes. The vivid portraits of the men who fight in the air may be a bit intemperate at times, and sentimental, but this is understandable. To live in close communion with youngsters who fly alone, miles into the ether, to battle, who defy death a dozen times a day, who swagger and smile as they take off into the unknown, does not make for impersonal and objective writing.

Probably the most vivid tales come from the squadrons' log books. The following excerpt needs no embellishment; its simple telling makes it the more vivid. It is from "Cobber" Kain's log. "I turned into the enemy which had started to climb and gave a burst at the leader who pulled up, turned on his back and spun away in flames. I then noticed 5 more M.E. 109's working round behind me, so I turned hard right and took a sight on the near machine. I fired a burst at him, he dived away and I took three deflection shots at another M.E. 109 which was slowly turning ahead of me. He turned on his starboard side and dived right down towards the earth. I was just turning south when my cockpit was hit by a cannon shell, while another hit my gravity tank."

The fliers are hard and full of hatred. There is no mutual admiration of enemy fliers. When one runs out of ammunition or has his plane disabled, the adversary, British or German, throws off the chivalry of the first World War, which compelled a cessation till he was in fighting condition again. Even the shooting of those who are forced to bail out is common.

The book has remarkably little propaganda content, but the effect of patriotism upon objectivity is clearly seen. Monks cannot resist the use of the word hun, and tells unbelievable stories of German planes fleeing at the sight of inferior numbers of British. The nearness of the author to the men he writes about and his nearness in time to the incidents causes the book to lose some of its greatness. I think he wrote too hurriedly. Perhaps he wrote it too soon after knowing his heroes as they emerged from combat. Perhaps the hatreds, the atrocities real and fancied, were too alive in his brain to permit of great story telling. Perhaps there was too much to tell without the help of time.

WILLIAM M. CALLAHAN.

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The Inner Forum

A COMPLETELY new venture in the field of the religious drama has recently appeared bearing the striking title of "God's Stage." Born in the Speech and Drama Department of Catholic University, ably directed by Dr. Josephine McGarry Callan and Walter F. Kerr (who also edited and arranged the material), this bold new venture seeks by motor-car mobility to reach a new and widely scattered audience.

A troupe of sixteen, accompanied by Rev. G. V. Hartke, director of the Department, and Ralph Brown, production designer, set forth last March in a three-car caravan consisting of an automobile, a truck and a station-wagon. The production involved some fifteen scenes, more than one hundreds costumes and extensive lighting equipment, essential because acting areas were to be highlighted by electricity instead of by realistic scenery.

The idea behind "God's Stage" was to produce something which would be "religious in motif, classical in style and experimental in method." This plan was specifically designed to trace the "presence or influence of the Divinity and basic religious concepts in drama from the Aeschylean beginnings in Greece to the modernity of T. S. Eliot." In this process many scenes were presented from such varied sources as Sophocles, Aeschylus, the liturgical trope, the medieval mystery, Marlowe, Massinger, Calderón, Racine, Schiller, Hauptmann, and finally the moderns—Carroll, Eliot, Sierra, Toller and Claudel.

Closer to the heart of "God's Stage" than a simple academic interest in theatrical traditions was the opportunity to accomplish some really effective propaganda. For this hardy group hoped "to create or renew awareness in Catholic centers of the theatric values, linked to religious thought, to be found in much of the past's great drama."

"God's Stage" represents a protest. It is a protest against much of the sentimental and pietistic offerings of a large number of Catholic groups (particularly during Lent) which frequently show little or no acquaintance with real theatre, and possess little or no real literary merit. It is furthermore an attempt to make the public more aware of past usage of the Christian idea in the theatre, and to prove that religious drama is no less good theatre by reason of its being religious.

It is to be hoped that other Catholic centers throughout the country will take their cue from this excellent example afforded by the founders and organizers of "God's Stage" —the theatre on wheels.

CONTRIBUTORS

James N. VAUGHAN has taught philosophy at Fordham University and has taught law in the New York Law School. He is legal secretary to Mr. Surrogate Delehanty of New York.

Harry Elmore HURD is a Boston, Mass., poet.

Peter BERGER is an Austrian who had several years' experience in Brazilian governmental administration.

John J. STONBOROUGH has been in government service in Washington.

Lloyd Wendell ESHLEMAN last fall published his biography of William Morris; he is at present living in New York.

Rev. John P. BOLAND is Chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board.

Theodore AVERY, Jr., is a student of anthropology.

William M. CALLAHAN was formerly Managing Editor of the *Catholic Worker.*

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